

(iii) a meaningful economic stimulus must reach as many taxpayers as possible, or at least 120 million people;

(iv) the broadest range of taxpayers can be reached by offering a direct rebate based on income tax liability or payroll tax liability; and

(v) the tax stimulus bill should be immediate and take effect on or before July 1, 2001.

(D) It is the sense of the Senate that the levels in this resolution assume that the Senate should as soon as practical consider and pass a stimulus tax package pursuant to this budget resolution that will result in a rebate of

(i) up to \$500 per individual or \$1,000 per couple for 95 million taxpayers who pay income tax; and

(ii) up to \$500 for the 25 million taxpayers who pay payroll taxes but do not have income tax liability.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, my appeal now is to all Democratic Senators, all Republican Senators—to the Senate as a body—to heed the distinguished majority leader's admonition to us last evening when he exclaimed: We are fiddling while Rome burns. What we should be doing is taking up a stimulus measure to get the economy moving, not, if you please, worrying about what is going to happen over the 10-year period—not for the elections next year, or education, or housing, or Patients' Bill of Rights, or health care, or any of these other things.

Distinguished members of the Concord Coalition, including the former Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary Rubin, and former Senators Warren Rudman and Sam Nunn, recently wrote an editorial to *The Washington Post*, "On Taxes, One Step At A Time," saying what we really need:

We believe an immediate fiscal stimulus can be provided independently of the proposed 10-year tax cut.

That is exactly what my amendment is cut out to do. The previous amendment, the Durbin amendment, involves the tax cut. This has nothing to do with the tax cut. It responds to what Rubin and others have been saying, that is, to at least try to get 1 percent of a \$10 trillion economy, around \$85 billion or \$95 billion, to extend to the greatest number of Americans—namely, the 95 million taxpayers and the 25 million payroll workers, some 120 million Americans—a \$500 rebate, Senator Domenici, or \$1,000.

You ask me where the money is? This is the most money we can utilize for stimulus without touching the Medicare and Social Security trust funds. I would have put in even more, if it was available. The \$60 billion the distinguished Senator from New Mexico has in his bill was called, by Steve Forbes, "an hors d'oeuvre." I call it half a haircut. I do not know whether the \$85 billion in this particular measure is going to do the trick. I hope so. But we have the best authorities from all walks of economic life, and from the market itself, in agreement.

MIT professor Lester Thurow:

If President Bush were really interested in using taxes to stop the plunge in the econ-

omy, he would drop his 10-year tax cut and first go for a large 1-year temporary tax cut, a stimulus package that could be extended for another year if needed.

That is exactly what I have done. I am not involved in the budget arguments so as to divorce it from the politics of tax cuts; rather, get a true stimulus package.

Robert Kuttner, whose column appears in the *Boston Globe*: First, the tax cut should be smaller, quicker, and directed to people who need it.

The best idea proposed by Harvard's Richard Freeman and the Economic Policy Institute is a one-time dividend of \$500 for every woman, man, and child. That would inject a lot of stimulus into the economy right now. The Treasury could send out the checks within a month.

We are all complaining about Alan Greenspan, but we have to do our part here. If you want to accept responsibility for the recession, just vote against this amendment, because this is not involved in the politics, tax, or the budget debate. This is involved in what everyone says—Republicans and Democrats, economists and market experts—that we need right now.

David Broder:

If they can, this country can reap the benefits of an immediate tax cut that will cushion the effects of the slowdown of the economy.

That is just last week. And this week's *Business Week* headline reads: America Needs That Tax Cut Right Now.

We made it a rebate because I am confident that our friends on the other side of the aisle will not support the Durbin amendment. Of course, the Durbin amendment is not an amendment with respect to the \$60 billion amount, it is an endorsement of the same amount. I think it is inadequate on the one hand, but otherwise it gives that 10-year lower bracket of 15 percent down to 10 percent, which costs them \$500 billion and goes right in the face of the Bush tax cut.

I do not want to get involved in that political argument. I want a true tax cut for which everybody can vote. That is it.

What we have been doing here has gotten all wound up with the rich, the poor, the high, the low; what are we going to do for medicine, what are we going to do for defense and everything in the next 10 years. But as the distinguished majority leader yesterday afternoon said: Rome is burning.

If you want it to continue to burn, vote the amendment down. If you want to revive the economy and the market so that there will be some surpluses here, then please help us with this particular amendment.

I retain the remainder of my time.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, may I ask a question of the Senator?

Mr. HOLLINGS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOMENICI. I read the amendment. Let me see if I am correct. You don't do anything to the rest of the budget and the proposed tax cut.

Mr. HOLLINGS. No. I leave that alone.

Mr. DOMENICI. You just increase the 60 that we have.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Eighty-five, because I understand Senator GRASSLEY has used some emergency agricultural funds in his amendment. That is the only one that is touched for 2001. The Budget Committee staff has been keeping score. I had to cut it back to 85.

Mr. DOMENICI. I am certainly going to explore this with the Senator.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Please do. My goodness, with the smile on your face and with some help, we can really help the economy. That is the whole idea—not to be partisan, or, I am for Bush, or against Bush, or I am for the rich and you are for the poor, and all of that kind of stuff. Let's really get what the economy needs now.

Mr. DOMENICI. I am in fact smiling. My face is in such a big smile that I can't hardly talk. So just give me a moment. I don't want you to answer this. But if I consider your amendment, would you consider my budget?

Mr. HOLLINGS. Oh, yes. I consider your budget. In fact, if we had all of those surpluses, I promise to vote for Bush's budget. As Senator BYRD carries around the Constitution, I carry around the economy. The debt to the penny by the U.S. Treasury, from the Secretary of the Treasury, shows that the debt has gone up this fiscal year already by \$102 billion, with a \$42 billion increase in the debt owed by the public and \$60 billion in debt owed by the Government itself.

We are not paying down the debt. But if you get those surpluses, you will have my help.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I close by saying I don't want to ask another question, obviously, because your answer was one that I didn't expect. But I want to remind you that you made a deal with me once. You said as soon as we balance the budget—you and I—wouldn't you jump off of some building?

Mr. HOLLINGS. Off the dome. That is right. You had me looking for a parachute last fall. But now look at what we have going. We are spending money we don't have now on this particular measure.

I go back to Roosevelt's "prime the pump," because I remember for about a 2- to 3-year period back in my hometown they were paying everybody in script. We didn't have the money.

That assumes we don't have the money. But if you want to get this economy moving again, let's vote for this particular amendment so we can do that and not be accused of bogging down in the political argument of tax cuts and budgets.

Mr. DOMENICI. I would have modified my suggestion, and would have said, Will the Senator try a bungee jump? You wouldn't have to jump for real.

I yield the floor.